

FIGHT FOR SOCIALISM!

The world we live in is a world where people are divided into classes according to their role in production. The two major classes in society are the capitalist class and the working class. The capitalists own the means of production (factories, machines, etc.) but produce nothing. The workers, on the other hand, receive only meager wages for the sale of their labor power to the capitalists. Almost all production in society is done by the workers. However, almost all the benefits from this production go to the capitalists. The basis for production in this society is profit. The capitalists are not interested in having the workers produce things that people can use or that people need. They are only interested in what makes them the biggest profit. Thus, while the capitalists get richer and richer, the workers are worse off than they were before.

In order to increase profits the capitalists resort to all sorts of techniques which most of us are familiar with: speed-up, wage cuts, unemployment, labor-saving machinery. While, for instance, labor-saving machinery would be progressive in a society run by the workers, it does nothing under capitalism but throw them on the dole. It is just another attack on the working class.

Another feature of capitalist society is war. Every day there is a war going on somewhere in the world. This is due to the necessity of the capitalists to wage war in order to get ahead of the capitalists in other countries. The working class has no interests in supporting these wars. What the workers want is peace. However, there can be no peace until the capitalists and their system have been removed from power and replaced by a society run by the workers on an international co-operative basis.

To do this, it is of no use electing people to Congress or as President. The

government is nothing more than the executive committee of the ruling class. It is the owners of the big corporations who have the final say as to what goes on. It is necessary to organize our own workers' councils. The councils will be the class rule of the workers after the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism. When capitalism goes Congress will go with it. All the democracy surrounding Congress is just a sham to keep us tied to this system. It is democracy for the rich, for the capitalists. Our democracy will be real democracy, proletarian democracy, the democracy of the many. We do not simply want a workers' government, we want a workers' republic.

In the process of waging the class struggle, the working class develops the revolutionary class consciousness necessary for carrying out its task of destroying the capitalist social order and replacing it with an international co-operative order of all producers, socialism. The acquisition of revolutionary class consciousness does not, however, occur simultaneously throughout the class as a whole. Some workers will see the need for a revolutionary struggle against all the institutions and mystifications of capital (e.g. elections, unions, united fronts, national liberation movements) before the rest. It is necessary for these revolutionary workers to organize themselves into a revolutionary party so as to carry out a coherent, centralized COMMUNIST intervention into the struggles of their class. The purpose of this intervention is not to set themselves up as "leaders", but to pose the necessity of generalizing isolated struggles into a classwide struggle against the capitalist system.

While such a party is both democratic and centralized, it is not "democratic-centralist" in the Leninist sense of an artificial "iron discipline". On the contrary, its centralization comes from the living ideological link

of its cadre. It is not a party of "leaders" and "masses", with the "rank and file" following "the line"; it is an organization of revolutionary communist workers, whose fundamental ideological and programmatic agreement enables them to carry out coherent centralized intervention on the basis of the fullest democracy. However, it is not enough to build such a party here in the United States. Capitalism is a world system. Even so-called "Communist" Russia and China are capitalist (state capitalist). In order to wage a successful worldwide struggle against capitalism, the workers' struggle and the revolutionary workers' party must be international. It is as part of the process of the development of the International Party of Revolutionary Workers that the Revolutionary Workers Group and WORKERS' TRUTH exist.

In 1917 the Russian workers, organized in revolutionary soviets (workers' councils), seized power under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party. However, the revolution was isolated due to the failure of the revolution in Western Europe, and the Russian workers, exhausted from the hard struggle in a backward country, lost power as the Bolsheviks more and more substituted their authority for that of the working class, until the point was reached in 1921 where the Bolsheviks and the working class stood on opposite sides of the class line. However, despite the defeat of the workers in 1921, their struggle and victory in 1917 remains, along with the Paris Commune of 1871, as a beacon for workers throughout the world.

Under capitalism we workers are nothing more than menials. We deserve a better life. We deserve socialism. However, it will not be handed to us on a platter. We must fight for it. For if we do not fight for socialism, we will be handed barbarism. Socialism or barbarism? FIGHT FOR SOCIALISM!

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Appeal to Our Readers

The deepening of the worldwide crisis of capitalism brings with it the widening and deepening of working class struggle in response to the deterioration of workers' living standards around the world. This in turn makes greater demands on revolutionary communist workers to maintain and expand our publications so as to better combat the propaganda of the various capitalist newspapers, be it from the large daily legitimate press or the myriad of right and left wing capitalist sects who try to confuse and mystify the working class and deter it from its historic mission: the destruction of capitalism and the building of socialism. As you have seen we have been forced to cut back the production of WORKERS' TRUTH from 8 to 4 pages due to our limited funds and the continually soaring costs of printing and mailing. This comes at a time when we had hoped to be able to expand to 12 pages so as to be in a better position to discuss the growing struggle against the capitalist crisis. Therefore we must ask you, our readers, to send whatever you can to help us out. If you feel that WORKERS' TRUTH is a revolutionary workers' paper, and if you feel as we do the urgent necessity for maintaining and expanding revolutionary intervention into the struggles of our class, then

please send us a contribution, however small or large it may be. Everything will be appreciated. It would be preferable if checks and money orders were made out to Cash. Mail contributions to RWG, PO Box 60161, 1723 W. Devon, Chicago, IL 60660.

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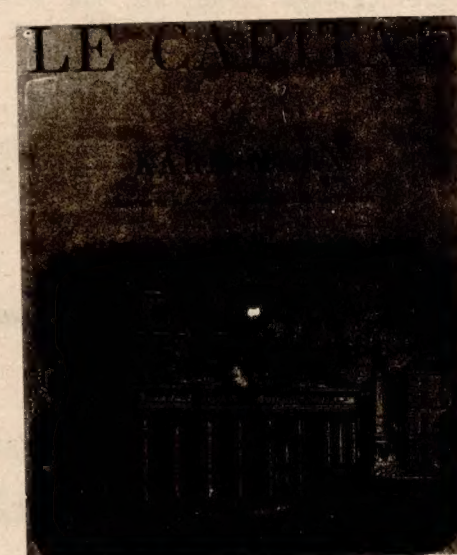
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ourselves to publish a series of articles placing the present economic collapse in its historical context as an expression of the inherent contradictions of capitalism. For the working class will only be capable of destroying the system that exploits and oppresses us, if we are armed with a conscious understanding of what it is that we are fighting. We hope that these articles will be a contribution to the development of that consciousness.

workers' truth

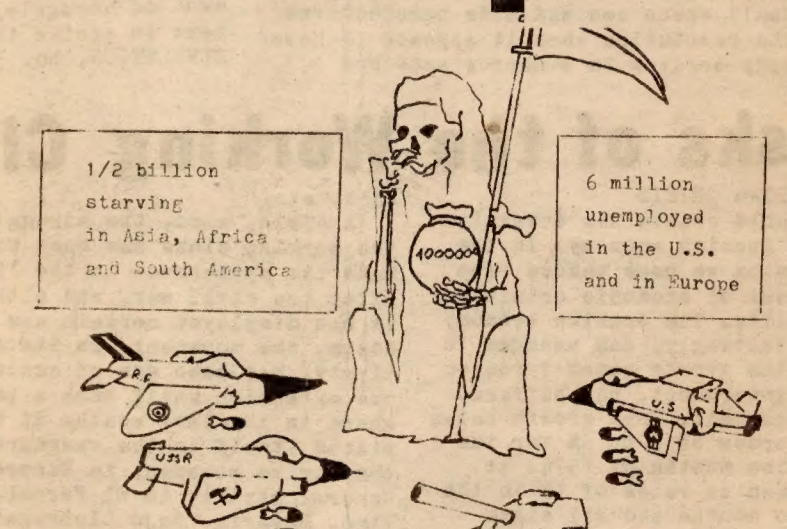
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The Real Crimes of Capital

The liberation of the workers can only be the deed of the working class itself.



Ever since Watergate the liberals and the leftists, from the "New York Times" to "Workers Vanguard", have wailed at the various criminal activities of the U.S. government. First there was the whole Watergate affair, then the "crime" of parading Nixon. Now it's the exposures of the CIA and the FBI and the "Workers Vanguard" hue and cry about the admission of Vietnamese refugees. In response to the CIA exposures of the liberal/left faction of capital, the right-wing faction, of course, cries out, "What about the KGB? What about the Communists in Cambodia?"

What this war of the words shows is that all of these tendencies, from the right-wingers through the Rockefeller to the "New York Times" and "Workers Vanguard", can only take issue with particular aspects of capitalist criminality (and the least of it at that). The reason for this is that they are all --despite leftist protestations to the contrary--fully integrated into capitalism. They function as factions of capital, vying with each other for power over the working class. The horror of the leftists at the actions of the CIA stem from the fact that these actions are generally directed against the leftists and those "progressive" wings of capitalism that they support internationally (Russia, China, Castro, Allende, unions). The right-wingers fear and despise the KGB, and constantly point out the crimes of that faction because the activities of the KGB are generally directed against their faction of capital.

Thus as is usually the case in intra-class polemics between the capitalist parties and papers, each side does a half-way decent job of pointing out the superficial horrors of their opponent, while both sides ignore the real crime that is perpetrated on humanity in general and the working class in particular--the very continued existence of the capitalist system itself.

It is the fact that capitalism, a system that long ago outlived its usefulness, continues to exist, plunging civilization further and further into decay, that is the crime that cannot be punished by the capitalist courts or commissions, but only by working class revolution on a world scale.

How is capitalism criminal? The very mode of production itself--wage-labor--is a crime against the productive layer of society, the working class, our class. While we produce virtually everything in society, we receive only a pittance in return, not for our labor, but only our labor-power, our ability to work. That is, we are only paid enough to keep us healthy and able to keep producing (and sometimes we aren't even paid that much). The rest of the value contained in the commodities that we produce, is a surplus-value which is extracted by the capitalists to support themselves and to keep their system going.

The leftists and liberals talk about "a fair day's wage" and a "sliding scale of wages and

hours". But these are simply sops to defuse our struggle and to keep us from confronting the fundamental basis of our exploitation. What is a "fair day's wage"? Who is to say how much we should have? Without capitalism there would be no need to waste production on armaments, advertising, etc. We wouldn't need a horde of bureaucrats, bosses, police and armies. Everyone could be involved in productive labor so as to produce enough to meet all our needs. There is no such thing as a "fair day's wage". The only "fair" thing to do with wages is for the working class to abolish wage-labor.

Not only is the method of capitalist production criminal, so is its driving force--profit. Confronted with the tendency for the rate of profit to fall (based on the increasing ratio of capital invested in machinery, raw materials, etc. to that paid out to living labor--the only portion which can produce value) the capitalists are forced to increase the total value produced and their share of that value (surplus-value). This is done in various ways which are well-known to all of us: speed-up to increase productivity, layoffs and wage cuts to decrease the amount of money laid out in wages.

Since capitalism is based on profit and not social need, the capitalists are compelled to use technological advances as attacks on workers' living standards and to increase our exploitation in the plants. The introduction of more efficient machinery is thus always a prelude to layoffs.

As a consequence of the drive to accumulate as much surplus as possible for increased production and increased profits, valuable social services are either never instituted or instituted only so as to be of benefit to the capitalists in the long run, and then discarded when necessary. Thus, the urban centers, where most workers live, are doomed to decay. This decay has reached the point where we can practically see the changes from bad to worse from day to day.

Now that the post-World War II reconstruction is over, capitalism has been plunged into another profitability crisis. Unlike the nineteenth century, when capitalism was a progressive system, still expanding globally, it cannot resolve this inherent contradiction through either weeding out weak enterprises or by annexing non-capitalist areas as sources of raw materials and cheap labor and as markets. Today the entire world has been incorporated into the capitalist market, and competition is carried out primarily as competition between different national capitalist blocs. The results of the present global profitability crisis (and it is just the beginning) are well-known: rampant inflation, rising unemployment, speed-up, short weeks, even pay cuts. Along with this is the increase in shoddy merchandise (as quality is sacrificed for profit), and the wanton destruction of agricultural goods in the midst of poverty and famine, simply because they cannot be sold profitably. In the face of

all this truly criminal activity, the leftists cry about wiretaps and claim that nationalization is the answer to our economic woes! We need only look at the workers' lot in Russia, however, to see how far off they are with that answer.

Probably the most criminal result of capitalism's continued existence as a decadent social system is imperialist war. Driven to escalate their competition for profits to the level of forcibly seizing spheres of influence, the capitalists have plunged the world into an almost uninterrupted period of wars. Besides the two global slaughters of 1914-18 and 1939-45, there have been numerous local wars fought under the guise of "national liberation" (but really the transfer of spheres of influence from one imperialist power to another). Here the capitalist factions stand most clearly condemned. If they don't support the ruling power in their own country, they support Russia and China or their colonial pawns like Castro and the NLF. Ever ready to do their job, the unions rushed to recruit the working class cannon fodder necessary for the two world wars.

Faced with the present profitability crisis, the capitalists have already initiated trade wars and local shooting wars. Doomed to fail in their futile struggle to overcome the falling rate of profit, and thus compelled to repeat the next step in their deadly cycle of crisis/war/reconstruction, the capitalists could plunge the world into a third world war that might very well "end all wars" by ending humanity's existence. We say "could" because there is an alternative to imperialist war: working class revolution. By waging a class conscious struggle against the capitalist state and the system of wage-labor, the market, etc., we can avert the logical capitalist outcome of the crisis and liberate ourselves from the decadence and exploitation of capitalism.

While it is true that when we move into struggle the capitalists will no doubt use their CIA, FBI, KGB, etc. (as they have in the past), they will also use (and more so if necessary) the leftist parties, the unions, the liberal press. All of these forces for capitalism, whether they be open (army, police), secret (CIA, FBI), or auxiliary (leftist parties, unions) organs of the state, must be swept away if our struggle is to be successful. There is an old saying: Crime doesn't pay. But for the capitalists it has paid in massive profits which have been used to perpetrate more crimes against the working class. And it is, in fact, the working class that has been forced to do the paying--with our blood and sweat in the factories, and with the butchered bodies of our brothers on the capitalist battlefields. Rosa Luxemburg gave a true description of capitalism when she said: Shamed, dishonored, wading in blood and dripping with filth, thus capitalist society stands. The indictment of capitalism has been around for a long time. It's high time we came in with the guilty verdict and executed the sentence: DEATH TO CAPITALISM THROUGH A WORLDWIDE WORKERS' REVOLUTION! WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE! THE FUTURE BELONGS TO US, OR IT BELONGS TO NO ONE!

Our Next Issue

Our next issue will be dated August 1975. The next issue of FORWARD will replace the July issue of WORKERS' TRUTH. Due to lack of funds we have found it impossible to continue publishing WORKERS' TRUTH every month and still publish FORWARD. As we feel that both are important, we will be publishing one or the other every month. 3 issues of WORKERS' TRUTH and then an issue of FORWARD. This will mean 9 issues of WORKERS' TRUTH and 3 issues of FORWARD during a year's time. Subscriptions will be on the basis of receiving both publications: \$3 for one year. Single copies of WORKERS' TRUTH will still be 10c. Single copies of FORWARD will be 75c.

Part One of: The Economic Crisis Is Capitalism

There is no need to "prove" the existence of a world economic crisis. The virtual bankruptcy of Italy, the near bankruptcy of Britain, the rampaging inflation coupled with ever-increasing unemployment in all countries, the heightening trade war through import barriers and tariffs, and Kissinger's ominous threats of force against Arab oil-producing countries are clear demonstrations of the sad state that capitalism finds itself in today. However, although "proof" of the crisis is not necessary, it is necessary to understand it. What is behind the collapse of the world's economy? If we are headed for a new depression, one deeper than that of the thirties, what is behind this? Is it a case of bad management as the various factions of capital proclaim, or is it something deeper, something deeper, something more basic and inherent within the system itself? Is it possible to "turn things around" with some sweeping reform of the system as the state capitalists of the left think, or is it necessary for the working class to consign the whole capitalist system of wage-labor and commodity production to the dustbin of history and replace it with a new socialized productive system based on social need? What are the alternatives for the working class and, in fact, all humanity faced with the present crisis? Past issues of WORKERS' TRUTH have attempted to provide the answers to these and other related questions. We have put forward the revolutionary Marxist view that capitalism is a social system in decadence and permanent historical crisis, a system that has

outlived its usefulness. We have fought for the view that fundamental reform of capitalism was utopian and that lasting amelioration of the working class's living standard was impossible. We have consistently posed the alternatives facing society as either working class revolution or imperialist war, socialism or barbarism. However, at the same time our attempts to explain the economic basis of the crisis have generally fallen short of the mark. Economic analysis has heretofore been sketchy and there has been a tendency to concentrate on one aspect of the crisis, the saturation of markets, to the point of viewing the problem simply in terms of this important, but secondary point. Although we have not gone to the extent of groups like the International Communist Current who essentially put forward a non-Marxist underconsumptionist analysis of the crisis:

It is therefore the relative UNDERCONSUMPTION of the working class with respect to the total mass of value which it creates, an underconsumption made necessary by the laws of capitalist production, which is at the basis of crises...

(INTERNATIONALISM, No. 6) there has been a tendency to concentrate on the relative saturation of markets (with relation to profitability) at the expense of the fundamental reason for such a "saturation": the falling rate of profit. Because of this we have taken it upon

INT. INSTITUUT SOC. GESCHIEDENIS AMSTERDAM

The Spanish Strike Wave

The following article is reprinted from a January supplement of ACCION PROLETARIA, a Spanish group now affiliated to the International Communist Current (for information and/or subscriptions write to: INTERNATIONALISM, P.O. Box 961, Manhattanville Station, 365 West 125 Street, New York, NY 10027, or REVOLUTION INTERNATIONALE, B.P. 219, 75 027 Paris Cedex 17, FRANCE). Although the Spanish strike wave has receded in recent months, the strikes have not ceased altogether. This is a clear indication that the ebbing of the strike wave is only a moment of reflection on the part of the Spanish workers. They have not been defeated. The ebbing of this latest wave of strikes is simply the ebbing of the surf during a coastal storm, a brief pause before a new, more powerful wave. As Rosa Luxemburg aptly phrased it in her pamphlet on "The Mass Strike":

"The mass strike, as the Russian Revolution shows it to us, is such a changeable phenomenon that it reflects all phases of the political and economic struggle, all stages and factors of the revolution. Its adaptability, its efficiency, the factors of its origin are constantly changing. It suddenly opens new and wide perspectives of the revolution when it appears to have already arrived in a narrow pass and

where it is impossible for anyone to reckon upon it with any degree of certainty. It flows now like a broad billow over the whole kingdom, and now divides into a gigantic network of narrow streams; now it bubbles forth from under the ground like a fresh spring and now is completely lost under the earth. Political and economic strikes, mass strikes and partial strikes, demonstrative strikes and fighting strikes, general strikes of individual branches of industry and general strikes in individual towns, peaceful wage struggles and street massacres, barricade fighting -- all these run through one another, run side by side, cross one another, flow in and over one another -- it is a ceaselessly moving, changing sea of phenomena. And the law of motion of these phenomena is clear: it does not lie in the mass strike itself nor in its technical details, but in the political and social proportions of the forces of the revolution.

The fact that "most of the strikes have been characterized by the fact that wage demands or 'political' protests are usually subordinated to the fundamental movement of struggle, and serve more as a pretext to strike than anything else" (WORLD REVOLUTION, No. 3, p. 17), demonstrates the

incapacity of the various leftists to contain the strikes by diverting them onto the terrain of unionism and democratic reform. The high percentage of solidarity strikes demonstrates the development of class consciousness within the Spanish working class.

What the recent strike wave has done is allowed the Spanish workers to flex their muscles -- so to speak -- , to feel their collective strength. They have already developed the embryonic form of organization for the revolutionary struggle in the mass factory assemblies. In the next wave they must further that organizational process through the co-ordination of the local assemblies by means of a national council framework. The relegation to secondary status of economic and political reform demands shows already the necessary tendency to transcend these demands in the struggle of the working class; to see the struggle as not a pressure struggle for this or that change in capitalist society, but as a fundamental "winner take all" struggle of class against class.

"Combat or death; bloody struggle or nothingness. It is thus that the question is inevitably posed." (from George Sand's introduction to her historical novel, JEAN ZISKA, quoted by Karl Marx in THE POVERTY OF PHILOSOPHY)

The consciousness and class self-organization which are necessary for victory in that struggle are already in the process of development in Spain. The task now is to carry that process forward.

Tasks of the Working Class in the Present Situation

A GALLOPING CRISIS

The world crisis has severely hit the Spanish economy. In the last months we have passed from the threat of economic crisis to its reality. The Spanish economy which, haltingly, has managed to attain the growth rates foreseen by the government, has suffered a brusque halt. From growth rates on the order of 7 to 8% for the first nine months of 1974, it has passed to rates of 1% in the last two months and all signs are for continued descent.

Prices which increased in the same period at a monthly rate of 2% (a 20% increase for 1974) have darted off at full speed and the perspectives shown at the beginning of 1975 are for still greater increases (especially in articles of basic necessity). Officially, the struggle against inflation has been definitively abandoned in view of the danger of worsening economic recession. Likewise, unemployment rates have begun a dizzy ascent. To the massive unemployment in the construction sector has been added the reduction of the workday in practically all the industries of the automobile sector and its auxiliaries. Likewise, with the drought, unemployment in the countryside is massive. Overtime hours, which had come to be the general means for obtaining a salary sufficient for subsistence (in a great number of enterprises 80% of the payroll worked 3 and 4 hours overtime), have almost totally disappeared.

The recession is in the process of constituting, at an accelerated rhythm, an immense army of the hungry which, at short notice, can find its ranks augmented by half a million Spanish workers coming from the Common Market countries (only at Christmas, 80,000 workers remained in Spain, as unemployed).

Suspension of payments, bankruptcies of enterprises which yesterday were all-powerful, decline of industrial activity, massive unemployment, galloping inflation, misery. For all this a single name: THE CRISIS, and with it, once more the alternative for all humanity: SOCIALISM OR BARBARISM.

RISE OF THE WORKERS' STRUGGLE

In the entire world and after the defeat of the working class which culminated with the imperialist war of 1939-45, the struggle of the proletariat has again come to life coincident with the end of capitalist reconstruction in the '60's. Its most demonstrative manifestations have been the manifold WILDCAT STRIKES against the trade unions which have been irreversibly converted into instruments of capital, the French May, the mass strikes in Italy in 1969, the insurrectionary struggles in Poland, the strikes in Great Bri-

tain, etc.

In Spain, also, the struggle of the working class has once more made its appearance in the '60's, after the civil war, and although it has displayed certain ups and downs, the movement, in its entirety, has been one of continuous extension until such a point where in the last months it has placed itself in the vanguard of the strike movement in Europe. General strikes in El Ferrol, Vigo, Navarra, Bajo Llobregat, and recently those in the Basque country and Zaragoza, following each other with greater and greater frequency, forming an uninterrupted chain.

At the same time, the strikes develop more durability and length each time. In Catalonia alone, the SEAT and HISPANO OLIVETTI strikes, to cite two of the more important ones, began in September of last year and have had only brief interruptions. Solidarity strikes have accounted for a high percentage of the total, which is a clear index of the combativity of the Spanish working class.

No one doubts that we find ourselves on the eve of a general strike movement which in the present political conditions has unforeseeable consequences, since one of the fundamental characteristics of the present strikes is the nonexistence of any organization strong enough to direct them toward predetermined objectives. Unlike other countries where the struggles are in great part still directed and controlled by the different unions, so far in Spain, the official government unions as well as the different clandestine organizations that try to play the union role (for the most part the Workers' Commissions of all tendencies, the surviving nuclei of the UGT and the CNT and some Catholic organizations), are incapable of containing the movement.

All the struggles have developed having as their central axis the FACTORY ASSEMBLIES, genuine organs of decision and discussion by the workers. Only when struggles are left isolated or develop outside of the factory because of a lockout, are the union or political organizations able to contain the halted movement. This is the case with the two general strikes of Bajo Llobregat, where once all the workers were out, the WORKERS' ASSEMBLIES were replaced by assemblies of mediators and examiners at the headquarters of the government union.

The SEAT strike, during which was held a massive assembly in the center of Barcelona, surrounded by police, has been a very important step in definitively breaking with the un-

ionist schemes.

What the present struggles pose first of all is the necessity, for the working class, to continue to maintain the ASSEMBLIES as organs of decision when the struggle establishes itself outside the factories. Any step backward and abandonment of the ASSEMBLIES entails voluntarily leaving the movement to the maneuvers of the bourgeoisie, which at all times tries to conduct it onto ground where it can be defeated. The ground of unionism and bourgeois democracy. THE WEAPONS OF THE BOURGEOISIE AGAINST THE STRUGGLE OF THE WORKING CLASS

The combativity and consciousness of the working class shown by the present struggles has accelerated the political crisis of the Spanish bourgeoisie. All the attempts at stopping the revolutionary process through their maneuvers beginning with democratic illusions, are being overruled even before they can be applied. The "Political Association" Law itself, passed by the government, is a clear proof of the impossibility of controlling the situation through a gradual evolution. The transfer of power from Franco to Juan Carlos has been converted into a profound political crisis.

It is not possible to envisage maintaining an evolution in the framework of the present regime; FOR THE BOURGEOISIE, the alternatives are presented in a radical form: either the hardening of the dictatorship and a return to the 1930's or else the republican alternative of 1931. And it is in this framework that the recent events must be situated.

The departure from the government of the "Liberals" Cabanillas and Barrera de Irimo has strengthened, following Franco's illness, the "anti-associations" faction of the bourgeoisie, partisans of the "firm hand". It had already produced an event of great importance: the dismissal of Diaz Alegria, charged with assuring the policy of overtone within the army. Recently the associations law has come to confirm the triumph of this faction by making the "National Movement" the sole authorized association.

The faction of the bourgeoisie that defends the solution of democratic change as the only effective method of arresting the struggle of the working class (the faction which refused in the first place the Democratic Pact proposed by the Communist Party of Spain in order to try to draw in the socialist sectors of all tendencies) will see itself now obliged to extend its alliances to the "communists" and to constitute a genuine opposition to the regime.

The bourgeoisie utilizes as a

general principle the democratic forms and all those instruments only as a means of mystifying the working class. For example, we can see how in Portugal, when the working class began to mobilize itself, far from giving them open battle, the bourgeoisie launched into a vast democratic operation. Its principle instruments have been the Communist and Socialist Parties, without whose collaboration the operation would have been impossible in the present Portuguese situation. This operation is designed to disarm the proletariat without touching anything of the capitalist structure.

Since the first World War, the working class has seen many a time the same maneuver, and always, in every case, the result has been the same: "Socialists" and "Communists" in the government applying totally capitalist policies from the economic point of view, but with a workerist language which has so far been very effective in diverting our struggle. Our own experience in the years of the second republic is a clear demonstration of where collaboration with capitalist leads. The participation of the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party and with them the General Labor Union, and likewise the National Confederation of Labor led to the crushing of the revolutionary process in May 1937. In the case where the class struggle could not be arrested solely by means of repression, the bourgeoisie disposed of these forces as a reserve to meet the situation. And what in 1937 was a tragedy for the working class, should it come to repeat itself today, after the acquired experience, will be a FARCE.

The division within the bourgeoisie is reflected also within the army. The expulsion of Diaz Alegria, far from unifying the armed forces, has only deepened the division to the point where the Ministers of the army have seen themselves obliged to publicly threaten (discourse of the Pascua Militar) those sectors of the military that were involved with political organizations of the "opposition". With these threats they have only publicly confirmed the rumors that are already circulating in the streets.

Plainly this crisis of the bourgeoisie is also determined by the struggle of the working class. It does not arise from an internal crisis of the bourgeoisie, but that we find ourselves in an historical period where the class struggle begins to develop itself at higher levels; we are going towards a revolutionary period, and not only in Spain, but in the entire world. And faced with this situation,

Archives of the Revolution

Speech of Otto Rühle in the Reichstag 25 October 1918

ARCHIVES OF THE REVOLUTION is a regular feature of WORKERS' TRUTH. Each month we reprint for the benefit of our readers part or all of a particular speech, article or document from the vast and rich heritage of the Revolutionary Marxist Movement. In this issue we reprint the "Speech of Otto Rühle in the Reichstag, 25th October, 1918".

Rühle was at that time a member of the International Communists of Germany (IKD). The IKD had fought along with the Bolsheviks and the Dutch Tribunitas at Zimmerwald around the slogan of "Turn the imperialist war into a civil war". The IKD was anti-parliamentarian and anti-unionist. It was their delegates who held the majority at the founding conference of the German Communist Party (KPD). Likewise it was the IKD elements who formed the core of the Communist Workers Party of Germany (KAPD) when it was expelled from the KPD (despite the fact that the KAPD held the majority within the KPD). Rühle eventually left the KAPD in 1920 over the question of the party and the unitary class organization. Rühle and his group, the General Workers Union of Germany (United) (AAUD-E), held that all parties, no matter what their political principles and activity were capitalist organizations and that the only form of the working class struggle and organization was that of a federalized union of autonomous factory committees. This represented a failure on Rühle's part to understand the role of revolutionary minority organizations within the working class and its struggle.

The following speech is, however, a clear denunciation of capitalist "peace", a "peace" which only means increased exploitation for the working class and the threat of new wars. There are those who would no doubt point to the fact that Rühle made this only served to deepen and enlarge it.

This proposed peace, about which we are concerned, is only designed to save from catastrophe, which is menacing it, the system of exploitation and enslavement of the peoples, practiced until now with all that this implies on the level of the State, law, legislation and the economy.

For the laboring class there cannot exist a peace of compromise on the basis of a capitalist regime. They demand a peace founded on force, that is to say that their mortal enemy, the bourgeoisie should be defeated, the bourgeois-capitalist government overthrown, militarism shattered. Thus will the revolutionary proletariat impose its socialist peace on the bourgeois regime which it will have defeated and overthrown.

In the second place we reject this supposed democracy, this parliamentarianism, which the bourgeois-capitalist regime is offering to the German people at the very moment when it is no longer possible to deny that militarism, which till now was the firmest supporter of the ruling class, is crumbling irresistibly, and when the high command itself is convinced that the war is lost. This pseudo-democracy by the grace of Hindenburg is nothing else but a fig-leaf, an illusion to mislead opinion: in agreeing to phony reforms, reforms on paper, you shield the essential heart of the capitalist system, you act as its saviour by ensuring that it is not prosecuted in front of the tribunal of the masses. The social-democrats are called upon to take upon themselves the role of saviour at the last hour, to protect this bourgeois society which is visibly cracking up; the masses look upon the attitude as a shameful betrayal. They see themselves as mocked by this social democracy, which they are asked to take for a government of the people.

The masses, to feel themselves free, have need of something else: democracy and socialism, the Republic founded on the socialist revolution, and to this end, they demand in the first place the abdication of the Emperor as the instigator of the present war.

Finally we reject the so-called League of Nations, with the

with a practically generalized strike situation, we can see in Spain how political organizations that call themselves working class, and that define themselves as communist, see the factory assemblies as ideal platforms for selecting the future union representatives in the impending April elections in order to take all the posts of the National Union Confederation.

IN THE SECOND PLACE, the Spanish bourgeoisie tries to divert the struggle of the working class onto the road of false reforms, through its organizations within the proletariat. Fundamentally it tries, when seeing itself incapable of controlling the situation, to play the card of the DEMOCRATIC JUNTA, praised today by the "Communist Party of Spain".

It will pose the situation as if the crisis could be resolved through a better management of the economy. Thus, we see how in Portugal the Socialist and Com-

speech in the German parliament, and use that as a defense of "revolutionary parliamentarianism". The exact opposite is true. Rühle's references to the Reichstag as a "tribune" are weaknesses of his speech, and the very fact that he made the speech in parliament detracts from its anti-parliamentarian stance. What is communist about Rühle's speech is not where he made it, but what he said about capitalist peace. The same words would have been better spoken elsewhere so as not to give ammunition to the "revolutionary parliamentarians". As Herman Gorter stated quite correctly in his reply to Lenin's "Left-Wing Communism, An Infantile Disorder":

First of all, the argument about propaganda in parliament. This is an insignificant argument, for the non-communist workers, that is the social-democratic, christian, or other bourgeois-oriented workers, usually do not hear anything about our parliamentary speeches from their newspapers. The speeches are mostly distorted. We therefore do not reach them with these parliamentary speeches. We only reach them through meetings, pamphlets, newspapers.

To those who would use Rühle's presence in parliament (an error on Rühle's part at that time), we respond with Rühle's statement in "From the Bourgeoisie to the Proletarian Revolution":

In the last analysis, the real advantage of parliamentarianism accrues to the bourgeoisie.

help of which the bourgeois-capitalist governments, along with certain Social Democrats, want to recover after the war. This League of Nations, or Society of Nations, whatever its name, can be nothing else than a coalition of powers hostile to the workers and enemies of liberty; a Holy Alliance founded to crush the social revolution which is daily gaining ground. We can see how the great capitalist powers agree marvelously in order to accomplish this infamy; to strangle the peoples revolution in Russia towards which we hold a boundless sympathy. The working class does not expect its liberty from a Society of Nations of the Wilson-type or from any similar scheme attainable only under a capitalist regime. It aspires to the fraternalization of all peoples in order to set up an association which will guarantee a lasting peace and civilization, under the banner of triumphant socialism.

I call upon the entire working class, and in particular the working class of Germany to achieve this socialism by Revolution. The time for action has come!

of the working class begins to give this problem away. On one hand the generalization and extension of the struggle brings the paralysis of the system, and on the other hand, the Assemblies and the necessity to continue them in a situation of generalized struggle, in all the factories as well as in the streets, bring a direct confrontation with the bourgeoisie State.

This confrontation with the bourgeoisie State can only lead to its destruction.

It is in this sense, that we must see today in the WORKERS ASSEMBLIES an intent to construct the Unitary Organization of the working class, THE WORKERS COUNCILS, but at the same time we must explain that there does not exist any organization of the class that does not have for its immediate objective the destruction of the State and the Taking of Power.

Finally we must point out that the struggle that has developed continued on page 4 3



FIGHT FOR SOCIALISM!

The world we live in is a world where people are divided into classes according to their role in production. The two major classes in society are the capitalist class and the working class. The capitalists own the means of production (factories, machines, etc.) but produce nothing. The workers, on the other hand, receive only meager wages for the sale of their labor power to the capitalists. Almost all production in society is done by the workers. However, almost all the benefits from this production go to the capitalists. The basis for production in this society is profit. The capitalists are not interested in having the workers produce things that people can use or that people need. They are only interested in what makes them the biggest profit. Thus, while the capitalists get richer and richer, the workers are worse off than they were before.

In order to increase profits the capitalists resort to all sorts of techniques which most of us are familiar with: speed-up, wage cuts, unemployment, labor-saving machinery. While, for instance, labor-saving machinery would be progressive in a society run by the workers, it does nothing under capitalism but throw them on the dole. It is just another attack on the working class.

Another feature of capitalist society is war. Every day there is a war going on somewhere in the world. This is due to the necessity of the capitalists to wage war in order to get ahead of the capitalists in other countries. The working class has no interests in supporting these wars. What the workers want is peace. However, there can be no peace until the capitalists and their system have been removed from power and replaced by a society run by the workers on an international co-operative basis.

To do this, it is of no use electing people to Congress or as President. The

government is nothing more than the executive committee of the ruling class. It is the owners of the big corporations who have the final say as to what goes on. It is necessary to organize our own workers' councils. The councils will be the class rule of the workers after the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism. When capitalism goes Congress will go with it. All the democracy surrounding Congress is just a sham to keep us tied to this system. It is democracy for the rich, for the capitalists. Our democracy will be real democracy, proletarian democracy, the democracy of the many. We do not simply want a workers' government, we want a workers' republic.

In the process of waging the class struggle, the working class develops the revolutionary class consciousness necessary for carrying out its task of destroying the capitalist social order and replacing it with an international co-operative order of all producers, socialism. The acquisition of revolutionary class consciousness does not, however, occur simultaneously throughout the class as a whole. Some workers will see the need for a revolutionary struggle against all the institutions and mystifications of capital (e.g., elections, unions, united fronts, national liberation movements) before the rest. It is necessary for these revolutionary workers to organize themselves into a revolutionary party so as to carry out a coherent, centralized COMMUNIST intervention into the struggles of their class. The purpose of this intervention is not to set themselves up as "leaders", but to pose the necessity of generalizing isolated struggles into a classwide struggle against the capitalist system. While such a party is both democratic and centralized, it is not "democratic-centralist" in the Leninist sense of an artificial "iron discipline". On the contrary, its centralization comes from the living ideological link

of its cadre. It is not a party of "leaders" and "masses", with the "rank and file" following the line; it is an organization of revolutionary communist workers, whose fundamental ideological and programmatic agreement enables them to carry out coherent centralized intervention on the basis of the fullest democracy. However, it is not enough to build such a party here in the United States. Capitalism is a world system. Even so-called "Communist" Russia and China are capitalist (state capitalist). In order to wage a successful worldwide struggle against capitalism, the workers' struggle and the revolutionary workers party must be international. It is as part of the process of the development of the International Party of Revolutionary Workers that the Revolutionary Workers Group and WORKERS' TRUTH exist.

In 1917 the Russian workers, organized in revolutionary soviets (workers' councils), seized power under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party. However, the revolution was isolated due to the failure of the revolution in Western Europe, and the Russian workers, exhausted from the hard struggle in a backward country, lost power as the Bolsheviks more and more substituted their authority for that of the working class, until the point was reached in 1921 where the Bolsheviks and the working class stood on opposite sides of the class line. However, despite the defeat of the workers in 1921, their struggle and victory in 1917 remains, along with the Paris Commune of 1871, as a beacon for workers throughout the world.

Under capitalism we workers are nothing more than menials. We deserve a better life. We deserve socialism. However, it will not be handed to us on a platter. We must fight for it. For if we do not fight for socialism, we will be handed barbarism. Socialism or barbarism? FIGHT FOR SOCIALISM!

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Appeal to Our Readers

The deepening of the worldwide crisis of capitalism brings with it the widening and deepening of working class struggle in response to the deterioration of workers' living standards around the world. This in turn makes greater demands on revolutionary communist workers to maintain and expand our publications so as to better combat the propaganda of the various capitalist newspapers, be it from the large daily legitimate press or the myriad of right and left wing capitalist sects who try to confuse and mystify the working class and deter us from our historic mission: the destruction of capitalism and the wage-labor system and the building of socialism. As you have seen we have been forced to cut back the production of WORKERS' TRUTH from 8 to 4 pages due to our limited funds and the continually soaring costs of printing and mailing. This comes at a time when we had hoped to be able to expand to 12 pages so as to be in a better position to discuss the growing struggle against the capitalist crisis. Therefore we must ask you, our readers, to send whatever you can to help us out. If you feel that WORKERS' TRUTH is a revolutionary workers' paper, and if you feel as we do the urgent necessity for maintaining and expanding revolutionary intervention into the struggles of our class, then please send us a contribution, however small or large it may be. Everything will be appreciated. Mail contributions to RWG, PO Box 60161, 1723 W. Devon, Chicago, IL, USA. For our work, Comrades!

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ABOLITION OF WAGE LABOR

Part Two of

The Economic Crisis Is Capitalism

PROFIT: THE MOTIVE FOR CAPITALIST PRODUCTION.

Before going into the hows of capitalist production, we should first have a clear understanding of the whys.

The production of capitalism is not for use-values (the value of a commodity being based on its usefulness), but for exchange-values. The production motive of the capitalist was not (and is not today) production for necessities (or even luxuries) like the old ruling classes, but production for profit, pure and simple. ("The International Workers' Movement: A Short History", WORKERS' TRUTH, March 1973)

However, while it is obvious to all and sundry that profit is the motive for production under capitalism (are we not bombarded with the whinnies of corporation executives about "profitability" and "getting a return on one's investment"?), if this profit is not for villas on the Riviera, what is it for? All ruling classes have extracted a surplus from the laboring class in society.

What then distinguishes capitalist profit from the surplus of the slaveholder or feudal baron? They (the capitalists) based their wealth on the accumulation of capital, i.e., the accumulation of tools, labor, etc. for the production of commodities for exchange....

Under capitalism the worker produces much more than he receives in wages. The rest is appropriated by the capitalist how owns the means of production at which the worker works. This surplus-value is then used to accumulate more capital for the capitalist. Such is the drive of capitalist production. (IBID.)

Or as Marx wrote in CAPITAL: Accumulate, accumulate! That is Moses and the prophets! "Industry furnishes the mater-

ial which saving accumulates." Therefore, save, save, i.e., reconvert the greatest possible portion of surplus-value, or surplus-product into capital! Accumulation for accumulation's sake, production for production's sake....

This accumulation is carried out through the constant reinvestment of the profits of capital back into the productive process — expansion of production, replacement of worn-out machinery, introduction of new machinery to increase the productivity of labor. And, as we shall endeavor to explain, it is precisely this profit drive for continuous and expanded accumulation of capital which stands not only as the motive force for the continuation of capitalist production, but which equally stands as the Achilles heel of capitalist production, plunging capitalism into the chaos of economic crisis.

USE-VALUE AND EXCHANGE-VALUE
Marx wrote that capitalism represented the generalization of commodity production. However, our upbringing has been within the capitalist system. It is the only system we know, and hence our use of terms has been conditioned by the production/distribution conditions of that society. Thus, for most everyone "commodity" simply means product (this in itself is a confirmation of Marx's thesis). But, there is more to it than that. Historically every product was not necessarily a commodity. Every product under capitalism has two values. The first value is its use-value. This value, however, is not expressed in monetary units. This can be clearly seen by the fact that a

gold watchband and a leather one would not bring the same price even though their use-value is obviously the same. Prices are (within the limits imposed by supply and demand, monopolization and government intervention) the expression of the other value of the product — exchange value. And it is this value that gives a product its commodity nature. Commodities are nothing more than products which are produced for sale. The generalized commodity nature of capitalism is thus aptly expressed in the old adage "everyone and everything has his/her price" (we will go into the first part of this adage in our next issue). It really needs no explanation

that the true value of a commodity in capitalist society is its exchange-value, not its use-value. Why else would we see the butchering of cattle, dumping of wheat and cutbacks in production of necessary goods simply because they can't be sold profitably?

To be continued

...Spain from page 3

today in Spain constitutes a moment of the struggle of the world proletariat. Capitalism is a world system and can only be destroyed by the world working class. But the Spanish working class has in this moment an enormous responsibility to the world proletariat inasmuch as the problems of the destruction of the capitalist system and the